

Message Text

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ORIGIN NODS-00

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APPROVED BY D:CWROBINSON

S/S - PSEBASTIAN

S:HCOLLUMS

AF:WESCHAUFELER, JR.

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 313045 TOSEC 340116

NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, US, RH

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: PROPOSED TALKING POINTS FOR
USE BY BILL EDMONDSON WITH IAN SMITH (S/S 7626268)

TO THE SECRETARY FROM AF-SCHAUFELER THROUGH MR. ROBINSON

1. LONDON 20729 FROM EDMONDSON INDICATES THAT RICHARD
WILL NOW BE SEEING SMITH JAN 1 OR 2, BEFORE GOING TO SOUTH
AFRICA. I BELIEVE THAT SMITH WILL WANT TO SEE EDMONDSON
WHEN LATTER ARRIVES IN SALISBURY, AND EDMONDSON WILL NEED
TALKING POINTS. THEREFORE, I REQUEST YOUR APPROVAL FOR
FOLLOWING TELEGRAM TO EDMONDSON.

2. BEGIN TEXT. FOR EDMONDSON ONLY. WE ARE PROVIDING YOU
WITH TALKING POINTS WHICH YOU MAY USE WITH IAN SMITH SHOULD
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HE REQUEST A MEETING WITH YOU.

3. FOLLOWING ARE THE TALKING POINTS:

A. GENEVA CONFERENCE

(1) WHILE THE GENEVA CONFERENCE HAS THUS FAR ACHIEVED LITTLE OF SIGNIFICANCE, WE BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE SOME POSITIVE RESULTS.

(2) A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE KEY PARTIES HAS BEEN INITIATED, AND DESPITE ALL THE RHETORIC AND DISAGREEMENT, THE PROCESS CONTINUES--IMPLYING A RECOGNITION BY ALL PARTIES THAT A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IS BOTH DESIRABLE AND IS A POSSIBILITY.

(3) SOME MEASURE OF AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED, I.E., A CAVEATED AGREEMENT ON AN INDEPENDENCE DATE.

(4) ALTHOUGH UNACCEPTABLE IN THEIR PRESENT FORM, SOME INTERESTING AND PERHAPS USEFUL POLITICAL IDEAS HAVE EMERGED ABOUT HOW A TRANSITIONAL REGIME MIGHT FUNCTION.

(5) THE BRITISH ARE NOW PLAYING A MORE ACTIVE ROLE AND ARE PREPARED TO CARRY THIS OVER INTO AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT PHASE.

B. U.S. ROLE

(1) SMITH MAY BE ASSURED THAT, WHILE THE CURRENT RICHARD SHUTTLE IS ESSENTIALLY A BRITISH INITIATIVE, WE SUPPORT HIS MISSION. WE WILL CONTINUE TO FOLLOW DEVELOPMENTS CLOSELY AND INTEND TO PURSUE OUR BEHIND-THE-SCENES ROLE. YOUR PRESENCE IN SALISBURY IS EVIDENCE OF THIS.

(2) WHILE OBVIOUSLY WE CANNOT COMMIT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION

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TION BEFORE IT TAKES OFFICE, WE HAVE RECEIVED INDICATIONS THAT IT SUPPORTS THE "KISSINGER INITIATIVE." THEREFORE, THE RHODESIANS MAY EXPECT A CONTINUITY OF U.S. POLICY IN THIS REGARD.

C. BASIS FOR NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT

(1) IN PREVIOUS MEETINGS WE HAVE REVIEWED WITH SMITH THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS LEADING UP TO SMITH'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE "FIVE POINTS"; THEREFORE, WE SEE NO NEED TO GO OVER THIS GROUND AGAIN. (HOWEVER, IF SMITH FEELS SUCH A REVIEW IS DESIRABLE AT THIS TIME, YOU ARE AUTHORIZED TO BE RESPONSIVE.)

(2) WE INTEND TO STAND BY OUR UNDERTAKING NOT TO SUPPORT ANY AGREEMENT WHICH GOES BEYOND THE GENERAL FRAMEWORK OF ANNEX C. THE BRITISH UNDERSTAND THIS BUT AT THE SAME TIME SMITH MUST APPRECIATE THAT AT THIS JUNCTURE IT IS NECESSARY

TO FIND A FORMULA WHICH, WHILE PRESERVING THE BASIC OBJECTIVES OF ANNEX C, WOULD OFFER A WAY OUT OF THE CURRENT DEADLOCK. ACCORDINGLY, ANNEX C MUST BE STRETCHED AND RESHAPED IN AN EFFORT TO FIND A MECHANISM TO BRIDGE THE GAP WITHOUT EROGATING FROM ITS BASIC ESSENTIALS.

(3) WE URGE THAT SMITH DEMONSTRATE THE MAXIMUM FLEXIBILITY, IN KEEPING WITH THE FOREGOING, IN ORDER TO PRODUCE SOME MOVEMENT.

D. BRITISH ROLE

(1) WE FULLY UNDERSTAND SMITH'S RESERVATIONS ABOUT AN ACTIVE BRITISH ROLE IN AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT BUT IT SEEMS TO US THAT THIS OFFERS A WAY TO OVERCOME NATIONALIST RELUCTANCE TO AGREE TO ANYTHING LESS THAN AN IMMEDIATE TRANSFER OF POWER. A BRITISH "UMBRELLA" WOULD HELP GET AROUND THE PROBLEM OF THE SECRET

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NATIONALISTS' DEEP-SEATED SUSPICIONS THAT THE RHODESIANS ARE NOT REALLY SERIOUS ABOUT MOVING TOWARD INDEPENDENCE UNDER MAJORITY RULE AND THUS ENABLE THEM TO PARTICIPATE IN A TRANSITIONAL PROCESS.

(2) MOST IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION, AS FAR AS RHODESIANS ARE CONCERNED, IS TO PROTECT INTERESTS OF WHITE MINORITY AND BE SURE THAT TRANSITION IS ORDERLY. THIS BEING THE CASE, WE SEE NO DISADVANTAGE TO RHODESIANS FOR BRITISH OFFICIALS TO ASSUME CERTAIN KEY POSITIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES.

E. NATIONALISTS

(1) WE HAVE DETECTED A TENDENCY IN RHODESIAN STATEMENTS TO PROVIDE FUEL FOR THE CHARGES THAT RHODESIANS HAVE NOT REALLY ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLE OF MAJORITY RULE. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS DOES NOT SERVE RHODESIAN INTERESTS BUT RATHER LEADS TO INCREASED NATIONALIST DEMANDS WHICH SEEM TO AMOUNT TO AN IMMEDIATE TRANSFER OF POWER. WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT PUBLIC STATEMENTS MAY BE NECESSARY FROM TIME TO TIME WE BELIEVE THAT CARE SHOULD BE TAKEN TO AVOID CASTING DOUBT ON THIS QUESTION.

(2) IT DOES MUZOREWA NO GOOD FOR RHODESIANS TO APPEAR TO BE SUPPORTING MUZOREWA AS THEIR CHOSEN INSTRUMENT. IN OUR VIEW, AN ACTIVE POLICY OF APPEARING TO SEEK SPLITS AMONG THE NATIONALISTS WOULD LEAD TO NEGATIVE RESULTS AT THIS TIME.

F. FRONT-LINE LEADERS

(1) IN OUR VIEW, SUPPORT OF FRONT-LINE LEADERS CONTINUES TO BE ESSENTIAL TO SUCCESS OF NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF MACHEL, THEY (KAUNDA, KHAMA AND NYERERE) CONTINUE TO FAVOR A PEACEFUL RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT
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ANDESPITE THEIR RHETORIC, WANT THE GENEVA TALKS TO SUCCEED.

(2) NEVERTHELESS, THEY ARE UNDER INCREASING RADICAL PRESSURES TO DOWNGRADE THE POSSIBILITY OF SUCCESS AT GENEVA AND TO GIVE FULL SUPPORT TO A MILITARY ALTERNATIVE. WE ARE CONCERNED THAT PARTICULARLY KHAMA AND KAUNDA MAY BECOME MORE SUSCEPTIBLE TO THESE PRESSURES. ATTACKS OR THREATENED ATTACKS ACROSS THE BORDER TEND TO BOLSTER THOSE WHO COUNSEL A MORE RADICAL AND MILITANT ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF THESE PRESIDENTS.

(3) ACCORDINGLY, WE URGE THAT RHODESIANS DESIST FROM CROSS-BORDER ATTACKS INTO BOTSWANA AND NOT UNDERTAKE ANY RAIDS INTO ZAMBIA. IF CONTINUED, THEY CAN ONLY STRENGTHEN THE HAND OF THE MILITANTS AND POSSIBLY LEAD TO A SITUATION IN WHICH FRONT-LINE LEADERS ARE FORCED TO CALL ON OUTSIDE MILITARY HELP.

(4) WE NOTE THAT THE FRONT-LINE LEADERS HAVE ASKED PRESIDENT PODGORNÝ TO POSTPONE HIS VISIT TO SOUTHERN AFRICA, ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED FOR JANUARY. WE BELIEVE THIS DECISION REFLECTS THEIR DESIRES THAT THE GENEVA TALKS SUCCEED AND THAT THE SOVIETS NOT REPEAT NOT BE ENABLED TO UPSET THE APPLE CART. END TEXT.

4. RECOMMENDATION:

THAT YOU APPROVE THE FOREGOING TALKING POINTS.

APPROVE:

DISAPPROVE:

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5. DRAFTED BY AF:TWSEELYE.

CLEARED BY: S-HCOLLUMS

ROBINSON

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NNN

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